1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

I

The Young Prince of the Ruala, Amir Fuaz

THE SETTING SUN painted in delicate tints the naked hills of the Jabal Ruak.

In the southwest, black tents and fawn-coloured camel-herds covered the close-cropped plain of Tueyf. Armed men on nimble mares galloped towards us, as I, accompanied by a few horsemen, for the first time in my life approached the woven goat-hair "houses", a camp of the Ruala Bedouins.

The mounted sentries, who had come to meet us, conducted us to the smoke-blackened tent of an old slave. It was here I was received by Amir Nuri Sha'lan, the grey-bearded prince of the tribe.

The aged Nuri had lately (it was two years before the outbreak of the Great War) exchanged, not without reason, his own comfortable tent for the mean shelter of one of his slaves. He was in hiding. He had been warned of the activity of blood-avengers, men of his own kith and kin. For in the struggle for the headship of the tribe, he had shot one of his brothers with his own hand, and his slaves had killed another. Their sons, now grown to manhood, were not only seeking to avenge the murder of their fathers, but also to wrest the position of chieftain from Nuri Sha'lan.

While Nuri thus stood at bay against enemies in his

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643 still living at the time of my last stay with the Ruala, had died.

353 Nuri was very astonished, but very happy, to see me again, well and in high spirits. He led me to his private room, which he had furnished according to his Bedouin taste. It was just like the interior of a Bedouin tent, with its coffee-hearth, its heap of white ashes, its mattresses and a profusion of cushions, which, propped against camel-saddles, were a positive incentive to indolence.

231 A broad-shouldered hunting-falcon stood on a foot-high perch, one powerful talon hidden under its plumage, ready to strike. Nuri removed its leather hood. Great black eyes glared at us and the bird crooned. Then old Nuri called for a pigeon and threw it into the air. With a movement swift as lightning, too swift for the eye to follow, the falcon pounced upon its prey and ripped it open.

181 Cruelty is inseparable from the Bedouin. He enjoys
157 seeing blood flow. Old Nuri seemed to renew his youthful ardour as he played thus with his falcon. In this world the strong do not always fight with the strong; the weak are so often victims of sheer brutality. In Arabia, in particular, this can never be forgotten.

619 A week later I resumed my journey. Nuri had given
628 me, as travelling companion and guard, Faris ibn Naif es-Sa'bi, a young Shammar Bedouin, so that I might make my way unmolested to the old chief's great tribe in the neighbourhood of Wadi Sirhan and the red sand of the far-off Nufud desert.

It was curious that a Shammar should act as my conductor to the Ruala, for these tribes have been bitter,

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nay deadly, enemies for centuries. But the family of Faris had, because of a blood-feud, been living with the Ruala for the past sixteen years. This accounted for the fact that a Shammar could act as my protector in the territory of his tribe's deadly enemies; but the choice also displayed Nuri's wisdom. Being a Shammar, Faris could safeguard me with the enemies of the Ruala, while as Nuri's confidant, he could answer for me before every Rueyli.

Faris was an exceptional man. From the moment of our first meeting, when Nuri introduced him to me, I felt that this must be more than a mere chance acquaintance. The softness of his voice, as he wished me "Peace", and the grip of his strong, manly hand in an instant disclosed to me the open and pure soul of the young Bedouin. Under his hair-cloth cloak beat a heart so affectionate, yet so stout, that I must confess I have never encountered its like among the children of men. To his last breath he was the truest friend I have ever known. Faris was also one of the handsomest men I have ever met. His noble, oval face was unforgettable, with its gentle, dark eyes. His wonderful hair and beard, his flowing shepherd's cloak, made him a striking figure. Tender and gentle as he was, Faris was yet among the boldest and bravest of Ishmaelites. Perhaps he was living two thousand years too late.

After we had left the old suburbs of Damascus behind us, our way led through walnut, olive and apricot orchards into the great open spaces. Majestically the snow-capped peaks of the Syrian mountains rose into

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XV

Famine and War

587 TARFA, SISTER OF Amir Fuaz, who had married Mij-
628 hem ibn Meheyd, the Chief of the Fid'an, died suddenly. Thereupon, what must the fifty-five-year-old widower do but forthwith sue for the hand of another sister of the Ruala Prince, Fuwasa, who was seventeen. Fuaz refused, and declared publicly, before the men in assembly, that he considered Ibn Meheyd too old for his young sister. Thereupon the vain Fid'an chief flew into a towering rage and swore that he would take vengeance, not only on his brother-in-law, Amir Fuaz, but also on the whole Ruala tribe, and the Sha'lan family in particular. All this ultimately came to pass.

628 During the last few months, Ibn Meheyd had matured
731 his plans for revenge. He had stirred up the neighbour-
731x ing tribes of the Fid'an into joining him in war on the Ruala. It seemed as if the famine, threatened by the failure of rain in the Hamad and other grazing regions, would now become an additional formidable ally of Amir Fuaz's foes. Thirty-five thousand Ruala, with seven thousand tents and about three hundred and fifty thousand camels would be forced to invade the grazing territory of enemies, unless sufficient rain fell in the Hamad within the next few days.

000 As yet, life ran its familiar round. But over all hovered the spectres of thirst, hunger, and death.

The Ruala did not fear war. Were they not strong

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BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-ʿAmm

101 619 614 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called ʿAneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern ʿAneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Ḥejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Saʿûd, and various clans of the Ḳahaṭân and Muntifeẓ. The northern ʿAneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sbaʿa, Fedʿân, and ʿAmârât. The former include the Weld ʿAli and [602] Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ǧlâs. All the tribes and all the clans of the ʿAneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-ʿamm*, their paternal cousins.

611 602 609 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the right of *eben al-ʿamm*. It is common to hear such a remark as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? *min ḳaddim ǧeddeh mâ hu eben al-ʿamm čêf jeṣir lena-bn al-ʿamm*." or: "The Beni Ṣaḫr are more popular with us than the ʿAmârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḫr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḫr arlaʾ lena min al-ʿamârât w-lâčen bel-ḳurba haḍôla aḳrab lena min haḍôlak beni ṣaḫr aǧânib mâ lena w-lahom ǧidden wâḥed.*"

Ẓbêʿân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Mahaʾ married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbêʿân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin, or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *ʿamâm*, and not the maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the [628] sons of Ẓbêʿân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥâni. 602 827 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than those on the mother's side, *ʿamâmeh alzam min ḫwâleh*. The

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former give muscular vigor and power, the latter wombs; *'amâmeh 'aṣabe w-ḥwâleh arḥâm.* 602 827

Among those connected by blood relationship, *eben al-'amm*, it is prohibited to bind a captured thief, *mâ 'alejh arrbâṭ*, or to attack after midnight or shortly before sunrise, which is the most favorable time for resting; *mamnû' 'alejhom al-bejât w-aṣ-ṣbâḥ.* The blood price is fixed at fifty camels, a mare, and armed equipment. 602

The blood relationship, *beni al-'amm*, at the wish of the chiefs is sometimes granted to clans who are not related by blood and who derive their origin from quite different ancestors. If the chiefs of two unrelated tribes, *barrâni* (or *aǧnabi*), are favorably disposed towards each other, they proclaim that they will bestow the right of kinship upon each other, *ḥakk al-beni'am* (or *ḥakk al-ben'ame* [sic]), as follows: "Between us and you there shall continue the friendship of kinsmen as between kinsmen related by blood; *bênana w-bênakom ṣadâḳat al-ben'ame ṣwât al-beni'am.*" As such it is their duty to protect each other's neighbor, *ḳaṣir*, guest, *ẓeji*, or fellow traveler, *ḥawi*, even though he should be their actual enemy. It is likewise their duty to acquaint each other with the movements of hostile troops. In reality such a friendship has no value if the chiefs do not pay heed to it. "It is fairly spoken but it brings no profit, *teglih al-ḥači min ẓeju manfa'a.*" If a member of one of these tribes kills a man of the other tribe, he does not pay the blood price amounting to fifty camels, such as is the custom with actual *beni 'ammeh*, but only seven, as in the case of unrelated tribes, *aǧnâb.* If a thief from such a tribe is caught, he may be fettered; moreover, such a tribe may also be attacked after midnight, which is not permissible with the actual *beni al-'amm.* 608 628

Âl and Ahl

According to the Rwala, their tribe is known as *ḳabîlet* (or *bedîdet*, or *'ašîrt*) *ar-rwala*, *'ašire* having the same meaning as *bedîde* or *ḳabîle*. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word *âl*, which is often interchanged with the article *al*, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwejli. Generally the word *âl* denotes the same as *beni* or *eben*, its meaning being larger than that of *ahl*. *Feriž* is the 101 601

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302 thus plaited and dressing with some taste, *walad jenṣob*, is
305 called a *ǧâhel*. In the case of men not wearing plaits the barber cuts the hair, *šûše*. His work finished, the barber salutes the shaven one with the words: "May'st thou preserve thy health and capture camels! *eslam w-ernam al-bel*." The answer is: "May Allâh reward thee! *âǧerak 'al-allâh*," the barber adding: "May Allâh receive thee into his mercy! *sâmaḥk allâh*." The common barber is nearly always an independent, *ḥorr*, Bedouin. He shaves for a good word, not for
[576 pay, and must, therefore, be thanked, for nothing is more
181] disagreeable to an independent Bedouin than discourtesy and ingratitude for favors or services rendered; therefore the saying: "Bitter is the fatigue of a free Bedouin, *ṭa'ab al-ḥorr murr*."

Long plaits are the pride of a childishly vain Bedouin, *ǧâhel*, and often lead to his undoing. When pursued, he can be easily captured if the enemy catches hold of his plaits. For not only is he unable to escape, but his enemies can bind his hands behind his neck with his own hair and, besides, tie one or two plaits around his leg above the ankle. Hence the saying: "Thy hair is thy snare, *râsak 'arâṣak*." Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i, my companion, told me that he was once caught by some men of the Tûmân clan of the Šammar tribe, whose camel he had tried to steal, and was bound by his own plaits. When they dismissed him the next day, they cut the plaits through. From that time Mindîl has worn his hair short, *šûše*.

302 When the Bedouin catches a thief, whether afoot (*ḥâjef*)
685 or mounted (*mu'ajjer*), from a tribe with which he is at war, *ḳowmâni*, he cuts off a piece of his plait, accompanying his action with the words: "I let thee go free for Allâh's sake, *ana mu'težk lillâh*," and adds: "If I catch thee again, I surely will cut off thy chin beard; *in ḳaṣabtak laḳoṣṣ laḥḥak*." To cut a man's chin beard is, in the popular idea, as
302 bad as cutting off his head, *laḳṭa' râsak*. It is much easier
628 for the relatives of a murdered man to forgive the slayer than for the kinsmen of a Bedouin insulted by having his beard cut off to be reconciled with the culprit. Sâbel an-Nuṣejri of the Rwala once went to the Beni Ṣaḫr tribe to seek his two she-camels which had been stolen from him, *naḳiṣa*, some time before. He bore a letter of recommendation for the chief, given him by Prince Saṭṭâm, who asked the chief either to return to Sâbel his animals or to see to it that he

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was indemnified, *jeddûn 'alejk*. Not long after Sâbel's departure Saṭṭâm led his young warriors on a raid against the Fed'ân. In the depression of Sirḥân he met Sâbel. "Where are thy she-camels?" "I haven't found them." "Why, were they

FIG. 32—Coffeepots (see p. 100).

not branded with the mark of thy kin? What did the chief say to thee?" "I did not go so far. I was caught by the Ṣḫûr pasturing their camels, who bound me in my own plaits, put the Ṣḫûr brand on my right thigh, cut off my plaits and half of my chin beard, and then drove me away with the words: 'Show thy relatives what thou hast got for thy she-camels!'" No sooner did Saṭṭâm see the brand mark of the Ṣḫûr, than he shouted: "Let Allâh judge between them and us! Up and at the Beni Ṣaḫr! *Ješûf allâh lena w-lehom 'ala beni ṣaḫr*." Then the Rwala attacked the Beni Ṣaḫr camp, captured more than a hundred men, cut off their beards with sabers and daggers, made the Rwala mark on both cheek and ear of every man, and took all their herds.

Many elderly men have the whole head shaved. Such are called *aṣla'*. Those naturally bald are nicknamed *aḳra'*.

A maiden is very careful of her hair. In the morning she waits for the female riding camel to get to its feet, and, catching its urine in a small dish, she washes her hair with

herds were rolling in a confused mass out of the desert towards the settled territory. The raiders, after losing a number of their own riding camels, *ǧejš*, had to retreat. Then at last did Hazzâ' comprehend the meaning of the dream sent to him by Allâh.

One of the Rwala chiefs during a raid had a *m'âwdi* dream. A bowl filled with rice was before him. Kneading a good-sized mouthful he put it in his mouth but had to spit it out quickly as it suddenly became intensely hot. He related his dream, *ḥazzâh*, to his companions, who said: "Success, success! We shall get booty, but it will be taken from us again; *nâḥoḏ lena fowd w-jinfekk minna.*" And so it really happened. Attacking the herds of the Âl Zeben, a division of the Ṣḥûr tribe, they captured four and a half herds, *ḳaṭî'*. Greatly pleased with their exploit, they rode toward home with them but met on the road a stronger raiding troop of the Ḥwêṭât, allies of the Ṣḥûr, by whom they were surrounded, *sardowhom*, in a deep gully and defeated, losing not only all their booty but a good half of their own camels besides.

A Bedouin who dreams that he has his head or beard shaved mourns, for this means that he will lose his dearest son or, at least, his mare and best camel.

While asleep the Rwejli is threatened with many dangers from the spirit world, although it is Allâh only who makes sound sleep possible; for a man will not fall asleep until his heart is willing, which means when he has banished thoughts of his various cares; *mâ tnâm kowd ḳalbak nâjem*. When a Rwejli falls asleep, his soul, *nesem* or *rûḥ*, leaves his body through the nostrils, visits his relatives and the old camping grounds, goes out on raids, plays all sorts of incredible pranks, *'aǧâjeb*, eats and drinks, and the man will not awaken until his soul returns through the nostrils once more.

Yet the evil spirit also knows that the sleeper's soul roams about the world and so may make use of this opportunity to settle in the sleeping body. The Bedouin then wakes up as one possessed, *maǧnûn*.

A sleeping person, having no soul, according to the Rwala belief, is as good as dead and must therefore not be killed by an avenger; for spilt blood cannot be washed away by killing a sleeper, any more than it would be if one were to cut off the head of a dead murderer.

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her husband's tent, she herself marking the latter's face with the animal's blood. 782

Ṛaṭjân walad ʿAwwâẓ, a member of the Eben Mehîr kin of the Sbaʿa tribe, lost his brother. He had been killed by a Bedouin, who offered to pay the blood price. But Ṛaṭjân refused this, desiring to avenge blood with blood, and vowed to Allâh a camel if he would help him exact vengeance. When the guilty man sought refuge, *ʿannaz ḥâleh*, in another territory, Ṛaṭjân was unable to find him for some time. He had given up hope of seeing him again, when suddenly while on a raid he met a strange troop, among which was his fugitive, riding a mare. Dismounting, he seized his revolver, *ridnijje*, and with two shots killed both the guilty man and his mare. On returning home he sacrificed a camel. 628● 782

A brother of Eben Faẓîl of the ʿEbede division of the Sbaʿa tribe was killed by a member of a powerful kin, who at once took the part of the slayer. The latter was so universally known and esteemed for his generosity and readiness to serve, that everybody in the clan helped to save both him and his kin from the avengers. They conducted him to a place of refuge, *ʿannazow al-ḳâtel*, returned to the camp, and tried to persuade Eben Faẓîl to be satisfied with the blood price. They continued to press him more and more, until he replied: "You are mistaken. It is not the slayer, but myself whom you should have brought to a place of refuge, for I am threatened with danger, not he. The blood price you can keep. I swear by Allâh that I will not touch my wife until my brother is avenged." Afterwards he removed with his whole kin to Eben Hdejb, told him why he had left his clan, and made him the guardian of his family, should he not return. Then he went at once in search of his brother's slayer. Three months later he found and attacked him, but he was himself seriously wounded and only escaped with his life through the assistance of some Bedouins. With them he lay nearly two months before he recovered sufficiently to be taken on a camel to Eben Hdejb. But, as the use of his right hand was gone, he was unable to avenge his brother. Yet there still remained a twelve-year-old son of the brother, who, on hearing of what had happened to his uncle, instantly declared: "Uncle, I myself will go after my father's blood." It was in vain that they tried to hold him back. Mounting a camel, he rode to the Arabs among whom the slayer was hiding, stopped

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628 his animal before the chief's tent, and, entering, sat down among the guests and visitors. They conversed on all possible 782 topics, *an-nâs tesowlef min ʿarẓ al-ḥači*, as is usually the case, the boy listening eagerly. Suddenly he heard one of the visitors say: "Our blood-stained one, *dammawi*, mentioned that he had found at such and such a place a hole filled with rain water; but look, he has just come back with his water bag full." Great was the joy of the young avenger on finding the culprit so soon, and he took good notice of the tent into which the guilty man carried the water. Crawling in at night, he found him sunk in deep slumber. Shaking him with all the force at his command the boy said:

"Art thou asleep or awake? *ent nâjem walla' žâʿed.*"

"I am awake, *ana žâʿed.*"

"How canst thou sleep with my father in thy belly? *čejf tnâm w-abûj bebaṭnak.*"

"Not thy father alone but thou too wilt be in my belly," replied the culprit, jumping up and grasping his weapon. But at the same moment the boy fired a shot at him from his revolver, *ṭawwar beh ar-ridnijje šamâm*, killing him instantly.

On his return he simply said: "Uncle, I have avenged my father; *jâ ʿammi aḫaḍt ṭâr abûj.*" But the uncle was not to be comforted, thinking that he had not fulfilled his vow. "I vowed not to sleep with my wife before bringing back the blood of my brother. Thou hast now brought it. What am I to do?" Then the more experienced men advised him to dismiss his present wife and to marry anew. This he did.

782 In 1898, when cholera was ravaging the country, the Bed-[164] ouins fled to the desert to escape the contagion, *waḫmen čebîr*, which threatened them. Ever since they have called that year *sanat abu faksa*, cholera year. At that time Blejhân eben Meṣreb became seriously ill, and his relatives were convinced that he could not recover, *mâ beh rabeḥ*. When his brother, who was pasturing camels at some place far from the water, heard the news, he left his herd and hastened home, *rawwaḥ min al-ʿazîb*. The sight of Blejhân filled him with terror, for he looked more wretched than any one would have wished to see even his worst enemy appear, *w-allâh aš-šowfat al-kaṯra tamannâha l'aduwwak*. Weeping bitterly, the brother lifted his eyes to heaven and exclaimed:

"O God, a camel I vow to thee at once, if my brother shall again walk full of health and vigor, *ʿadîden w-ṣedîden.*"

572 panied by a *ḫawi* (or *ḥâwi*) and, nevertheless, some member of
486 the chief's tribe or a fellow tribesman of the *ḫawi* attacks and
685 robs him, the culprit is punished with far greater severity
than if he had committed murder, *takṭi' al-waǧh aṣ'ab min*
[683 *ḍabḥat az-zelema* (sic). For in a case of murder the blood price
● 628] is fixed by ancient custom, whereas a chief or a *ḫawi* and their
kin may ask any compensation they wish for the corruption
of the face. Of such unlimited demands every robber is very
much afraid, and therefore, although he often beats the *ḫawi*
soundly and curses him, he always returns to the traveler
all that he has robbed him of and begs him to swear in the
ḫawi's presence that none of his property is missing and to
forgive him.

THE *ḪAWI* OR COMPANION WHO PROTECTS TRAVELERS

486 If the traveler distrusts some tribe, he tries to hire as
572 comrade either a member or an ally of the tribe, that he
576 may then ride before his face. A companion protecting the
traveler from both his fellow tribesmen and allies is called
619 a *ḫawi*. To travel with a *ḫawi* is always easier than to travel
before a chief's countenance, because a *ḫawi* can be seen and
heard, whereas the protection of a chief, often living at a
great distance, must be first proved, which not only takes
some time but in most cases is difficult. For this reason the
chief usually gives the traveler in addition to his protection
one of his slaves or servants to act as companion.

In the selection of a *ḫawi* much caution is necessary. The more powerful and better known his kin, the more can his protection be depended upon. A common Rwejli is unable to protect against all the 'Aneze but only against the division of this group of tribes called Ẓana Muslim. These people have an old, established custom that whenever any of them eats a meal with a traveler he also lends him his face, *ḫawijet ṣu'ra*. In this case it is not necessary at all for the traveler to ask him to be his *ḫawi*, as any man of the Ẓana Muslim is bound to deliver him from danger without a special request, *min rejr nab' jefekkeh*. Only a culprit fleeing before an avenger cannot become a *ḫawi*.

One single face protects against all members of the Ẓana Muslim; the same applies to the Ẓana Bišr and also to all the 'Amârât, the other two great divisions of the 'Aneze. As a

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577 572 696 hearing distance or at a full spear's length from the farthest tent pegs. When a pursued person cries from afar to the tent owner that he is putting himself under his protection and is heard, the latter is bound to protect him. The term for such an occurrence is *ḥakk aṣ-ṣowt*. On reaching the sacred precincts the pursued man finds himself under the protection of the tent. If he is unable from exhaustion to proceed any farther and remains lying on the ground inside the precincts, no harm may be done to him, as that would be a violation of the tent, *ʿatab al-bejt*. The owner of the tent, his wife, or child shouts:

"Why dost thou violate my protégé? thine eyesight is sharp enough, is it not? *lêh taʿteb ʿala daḫîli ent ʿajnak žwijje*. With us the precincts of a tent are recognized as sacred by an old custom; no one would dare to violate it; *al-muḥârem ʿendana ʿâdaten sânijjaten mâ had jaḳṭaʿha*."

The persecuted man always tries to reach the tent. When he succeeds, he takes hold of the occupant's wife, or a girl there, or holds a baby towards his pursuers, saying:

"The protégé has arrived and saved himself, *daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem*." The people in the tent, whether men or women, cry: "Our protégé! Stop, respect the tent; stand still! *daḫîlana jammakom al-bejt al-bejt jammakom*." [685] Anyone who injures or kills the protégé inside the tent must compensate the owner for disgracing his tent, *ḥakk bowžt al-bejt*. Disgracing of a tent is punished with greater severity than injury to the face, *eḳṭâʿ al-waǧh*. The distance from the protecting tent to the tent of the culprit is measured by steps, and the latter must give one *ḥežž* camel for every step as compensation for disgracing the tent. [628] If, however, the persecuted man has killed one of the tent owner's near kinsmen, no protection will be given him and he may be killed in the tent itself, even if the woman present at the time were to grant him protection, *daḫḫâla*. This proceeding is explained and excused by the rousing of the blood, *fowžt ad-damm*, of the kinsmen when they see or hear that one of their number has just been killed.

Protection obtained in person is followed by the granting of the protection of the countenance. The protégé moves constantly before the countenance of him whose protection he enjoys, *alli daḫal ʿalejh*. Such protection cannot be limited but must be given a wide interpretation, *ad-daḫḫâla mamdûde mâ hi maḥdûde*; therefore there is never any dispute as to

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When, before the expiration of the three and a third days allotted to the guest's protection, he finds hospitality in one or even two other tents, the first host's duty to protect him, *'eddet al-waǧh*, is by no means ended. Should any wrong be done to him, he first goes to the one of his hosts whom he believes to have the least power. If the latter knows that the accused man holds a stronger position than he with all his kin he says:

"I could do nothing against them. Hasten to thine other host; his saber will reach them all. *Haḍowla-na mâ akwa' 'alejhom enhaǧ ila' mu'zebk ṛejri sejfeh ṭâjel 'ala-l-ǧamî'.*"

But if the guest has only one host, who is not very powerful, whilst his violator is a member of a powerful kin, the host with all his kin will conduct the guest to a prominent chief, put himself under his protection, and in this manner fulfill his obligation. No chief would think of refusing to protect a man so situated, since it is the duty of the strong to protect the weak, or, as is said in the desert: "The big horses protect the small ones, *ṭwâl al-ḫejl tehmi ḳṣâraha*," or again: "The weak seeks the protection of the strong, and no one that is weak must be injured, as long as there is a strong man among men; *aẓ-ẓa'îf jelûḏ bel-ḳwi w-lâ jeẓâm ẓa'îf w-ben-nâs ḳawi.*"

When a guest is found killed, the person finding him reports it to the host with whom he stayed in the last three and a third days, who is then bound to make a search for the murderer. If it is proved that the deed was committed by a fellow tribesman of the host, the latter will compel him to pay the blood price. If the murderer was a stranger, the host will simply send word to his relatives: "Your brother was killed by So-and-So."

After sunrise of the fourth day the host's duty of protection terminates, and he himself may then attack and rob his departed guest.

POEMS RELATING TO GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY

A Rwejli of generous disposition likes to receive guests. They will tell him all kinds of news, praise his generosity in other camps, and furnish him with the opportunity of showing his power should anything befall them. There are poems giving evidence of this.

CHAPTER XX

VENGEANCE

763 The report of a death or murder causes a stir not only in the camp but throughout the clan and even the whole tribe. The nearest female relatives of the dead person tear away the buckles holding their shirts under the neck, scratch their faces with their fingernails, besmear them with ashes and sand, cut off their braids above the temples, wind a narrow white kerchief, *ḳṣâṣa bêṣa*, around their heads, and run out of the camp either south or north into the desert, where they cry three times: "Ah, woe is me! O thou father of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-bujjâ.*" Or: "Ah, woe is me! O thou little brother of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-ḫujjâ.*" The white kerchief they wear on their heads for at least a month. This is called *kaffâl.*

628 614 602 The men of the whole camp run out to the dead body, examine the wounds, and discuss the manner of death. Those who are not his kin on the father's side, *aǧnebânijje*, return to the camp, watch their tents, send out the news to the pasturing grounds and the nearest camps, and take care that neither they nor their herds come between the avengers and the culprits.

The guilt rests on the whole kin, *ahl*, of the murderer; vengeance also becomes the duty of the whole kin of the dead man.[11]

AVENGERS AND PROTECTORS

The whole kin is bound to mutual protection, both aggressive and defensive, *jeṭred w-jenṭared*. The more distant relatives, i. e. those who are in the fourth and later generations from the ancestor common to themselves and the culprit, generally offer the avengers a two-year-old camel, *ḥeẓẓ*, and are left in peace.

The avengers are called violators, *ahl as-saṭwa*, or those who carry on blood feud in defense of the culprits, *ṭallâbt addamm*, while the culprits are spoken of as the blood-stained, *damwijje, dûmijje*. The avenger proper is generally the nearest healthy adult relative of the murdered man; the first culprit

[11] See above, pp. 47—58.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

628 is the murderer himself; should he die a natural death in the
614 meantime, his next of kin is considered the culprit. However,
602 for the first three days after the murder nobody pays the least attention either to the avenger or to the perpetrator. These three days are called the seething of the blood, *fowrt ad-damm*, or the anger, *za'al*, fury, *rejz*, or madness, *kar'a*. The avengers ride out on horseback and camels to seek the guilty ones and their herds. If they meet a little boy, an adult, or even an old man of the culprit's kin, they kill him; if they meet their mares or herds, they cut their arteries below the knees of the forelegs, *je'ažžerûnaha*, but must not drive them away captive.

No one of the perpetrators must defend himself, for then he would be deserted by his whole clan and even by the whole tribe. The defense is to be left to others. Therefore the culprits proceed with all haste possible to one of the more powerful chiefs to ask his protection. The first one to reach him cries:

"Behold, we ask Allâh and thee to protect the hair of our heads from So-and-So, as well as the herds on our borders; *tarâna blawbak* [*bellâh w-bak*] *'an al-flân behafâfna w-aṭrâfna*."

The chief answers: "Welcome to us! May Allâh save your lives! Ye are saved. Your pursuer has already halted. *Ahlan w-sahlan ḥajjâkom allâh w-selimtu w-ḥâb ṭâlebkom*."

The protector then calls his slaves, servants, and his whole kin, hastens to the tents and herds of the guilty kin, loads the tents with everything that is in them on camels, carries them away, and drives the herds between his own tents. To the avenger he calls out:

"Behold, your blood shedder has put himself, according to ancient custom, under our protection; so beware! *târa' dûmîkom daḫal 'alejna 'ala-s-swâni al-'atîža ḥassekom nafsekom*."

The avengers then inquire: "Wilt thou let them stay with thee a short while only or for several days?"

"Beware, I tell you, and guard your hands from committing violence!"

"We know well, tribesman, that thy protection is powerful, yet thou art not a protector of little girls, *'anejsi*, therefore wilt not protect culprits forever, *mâ tezebbenhom ha'*."

"How many days truce will you grant me?"

"We will grant thee four [twelve, at the most] days."

During the truce the chief loads the guilty men's tents and accompanies them and their herds to another chief. Should the avengers refuse to allow the culprits to go with their pro-

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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tector to another tribe, their fellow-tribesmen will intercede in his behalf and compel them to abandon their vengeance altogether. For they have blackened the face of the protector and exposed themselves in turn to his vengeance.

[622]

In the desert there are chiefs, the descendants of famous kins, whose protection is universally known and respected, or, as the saying goes, whose face insures a safe journey, *waǧhahom mâši*. Such are especially Eben Ṛubejn of the Fed'ân tribe, Eben Ǧandal of the Rwala, and Eben Ṭajjâr of the Weld 'Ali. These send only a slave or servant with their protégé, whereas others accompany their protégés in person. The protector leads the culprits to some chief who is camping in the direction in which they are fleeing and hands them over to him with the words:

"Behold, these are shedders of blood. I protected them from So-and-So, and now, hear me, I put them under thy protection. My duty will now be thy duty."

The new protector answers: "May Allâh keep both thee and them alive! They are saved, and their pursuer will return without achieving his object!"

From here they are conducted by the chief himself to another protector and emerge at length from the desert either among the Lhejb, who dwell north of the al-Ḥaṣṣ and Šbêḫ mountains, or among the Šammar âl Ǧarba, who camp between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris, or, finally, among the Sirhân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwestern borders of the Ḥawrân. The camps of the tribes here named are universally recognized as places of refuge, where the culprits are tolerably safe. Now known as *ǧelwijje* or *ǧallâje*, they pitch their tents there and pasture their herds like everybody else. In case the members of a camp harboring the *ǧelwijje* catch sight of a strange Bedouin prowling around, they bring him before the refugees to see whether they happen to know him. Should he be recognized as belonging to the avengers, the natives tie his hands behind his back or fetter his legs with horse chains and at last kill him, if there is nobody to intercede for him.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR PAYMENT OF THE BLOOD PRICE

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After some time the chief of the camp where the culprits have found refuge sends to the chief of the avengers this message:

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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"Your fellow tribesmen, *beni 'ammekom*, dwell among us. Accept the blood price, *medde!*"

If the blood price is refused by the avengers, the guilty parties can only remain abroad, *jeǧâwerûn dâjem al-awḳât.* But if the avengers say: "We will accept the blood price," the chief asks them to name their sureties of peace, or arbitrators, *čefil ad-dafa'*, while the culprits name their sureties for the payment, *čefil al-wafa'*. Then both parties agree on the chief before whom they will meet to settle the matter. When the culprits with their tents and herds, accompanied by their sureties for payment, arrive there, they send word to the avengers, *jedfa'ûn lehom*:

"Here we are with our surety. Make haste to come here too; we wish to pay you the blood price. *Ha' ḥenna ma' čefilna elḥaḳow ǧâj nabṛi neddi 'alejkom.*"

The avenger proper then sets forth with his surety of peace to the chief with whom the guilty party is camping, and in his tent the chief asks the avenger in the presence of all:

"What dost thou ask from thy fellow tribesman?"

"I want this or that mare!"

The surety rises, brings the mare, and, handing her over to the avenger, says: "Thy fellow tribesman gives thee this mare."

The next question is: "What else dost thou ask of thy fellow tribesman?"

"I ask fifty she-camels; a complete armament of a rider — that is, a rifle, a saber, a dagger, a camel saddlebag, a hunting falcon, and a greyhound bitch, *sluḳe* [sic]." If the culprits object, pleading their inability to pay so much, the chief threatens to have them escorted to the camp where they sought refuge; *en čân mâ entom žâbelîn neraǧǧe'kom 'ala meǧlâkom.* This makes the guilty party declare their willingness in these words:

"We came here to agree to pay the blood price and will fetch every animal demanded, *ḥenna mâ ǧîna kowd žâbelîn bel-medda aili jabṛîh eben 'ammena nesûḳeh.*"

One third of the blood price is paid by them at once, the rest as soon as possible, the avengers not being permitted to trouble them on that account, *w-al-'asr mâ je'asserûnahom.* Should they find out later that they cannot pay all that was demanded, they visit one of the prominent, *ḳâdemîn*, chiefs, with the entreaty:

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

"Go to So-and-So and get an abatement of the blood price for us!" 628

To this the chiefs generally agree readily. They call on the avenger proper, who according to custom prepares a meal for them and invites them to eat, with the words: "Say the name of Allâh over your meal, *sammow 'ala zâdkom*"; they answer:

"We shall not do so before thou givest us what we have come for, *ḥenna mâ nesammi kowd alli ḥawwalna leh tanṭejnah*."

"May Allâh preserve your life! Whatever ye may wish stands before you. *Ḥajjâkom allâh alli tabṛûn 'enda waǧhakom*."

Here the first chief interjects: "How many she-camels wilt thou give to me?"

"I will give thee five!"

"O Allâh, dost thou esteem me so low?"

The host obligingly raises his offer. The other chiefs, too, ask for something and then declare that they will present all the animals they receive to the culprits.

No chief or surety must ask or accept compensation for aiding those who carry on the blood feud in defense of the culprit, for that would stain his honor. His sole reward is the public acknowledgment that he has been instrumental in doing good, *msajjer ḥsanc*, and preventing fresh shedding of blood. The guilty party show their gratitude to their protectors in various ways. They like best of all to raise a white flag over the tent of the culprit proper, where they leave it for several days and ride around the camp shouting: [677]

"May Allâh whiten So-and-So's face! may he exalt his name both in this world and hereafter!"

The returning culprits are welcomed by their fellow tribesmen with equestrian mock battles, merry feasting, and cries of joy, *zarârit*. For do not they return who might have been lost forever?

The blood price of a man, *medda rḳaba*, from a related tribe is one mare, fifty she-camels, and a complete rider's equipment. For the blood of a woman no more than twenty-five she-camels is paid, because a woman is never valued as highly as a man, *mâ hi miṯl az-zelema nâḳeṣa 'an az-zelema*. The compensation for a man from an alien tribe is only seven camels. [435 562]

SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

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The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never persecuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be spared.

Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḥaṭâjâha w-aṭâmîha berḳubt ar-raḡol ḫejrah w-šarrha lahalha.* The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu sirre baʿîd ʿan al-ḫejr žerîb ʿan al-meẓarra.*" If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *damâʿanteh,* she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

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Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands compensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she miscarries, *ramat,* before the seventh month of her pregnancy, while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *istaʿǧelat,* and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

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The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to

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her kin, who may not demand it. Since he has bought her, she becomes his property, and he may punish her even by death *siḳtha wa-štarajtha šra*. However, her kinsfolk investigate the reason for her death and take vengeance on him if they think the motives insufficient.

The father who kills his son or daughter is responsible to nobody, as his children are his property, *mulk*.

If a son kills his father or mother, no avenger will rise against him, but he must leave his clan or tribe forever. The same is true of a daughter who murders one of her parents.

There is no blood price if a chief, or any Bedouin, kills a member of some other tribe who, happening to be in camp at the time a raid was being planned against an alien tribe, gave warning to the latter for payment. A hired traitor, *naḏîr* or *haddâm*, may be killed without fear of vengeance.

When a camp guard observes a man at night creeping close to the tents or herds and calls to him: "Who art thou, fellow, before I do something terrible? *waš ent jâ zelema žabl al-wahama*," and the unknown man instead of answering starts to flee, the guard may shoot him without being liable to vengeance. He that sights a thief in his tent at night and shoots or kills him is, likewise, immune from vengeance.

He who rides through the desert on a dark night and wounds or shoots dead a robber who has assaulted him, will not fall under the ban of vengeance but has to prove that he acted in self-defense.

For violating a virgin the offender may be killed with impunity by any one of her kin. Should any one attack the virgin's avenger, he would be destroyed by his own kin. The honor of the virgin demands it, *mašja-l-'arṣ*.

A husband who sees a strange man with his wife pretends to see nothing but steals after him and, if nobody is near, kills him. The kin of the murdered man, although they pretend to seek out the slayer, are very careful not to attack the husband of the woman with whom the murdered man had illicit relations. Their kinsman was killed as a thief or robber, and they do not wish to blacken his face by forcing the husband to disclose what he has witnessed. Hence, pretending to seek out the slayer, they actually divert attention from him, while ostensibly showing their willingness to avenge their kinsman.

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger,

513 A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger, since this would bring vengeance on the latter's own head and
628 his vengeance would not be accomplished. For a sleeping Bedouin has no soul and is as good as dead. A dead person cannot
[764] replace a living one, and he that injures a corpse involves the whole clan in his guilt. Therefore the avenger first awakens the culprit with the words: "O So-and-So! dost thou remember that So-and-So dwells in thy belly?"

628 On finding the culprit, the avenger kills him, slits the
682 corners of his mouth up to the ears, cuts off his ears, and sticks them into his mouth. Then everybody knows it for the
672 deed of an avenger, and no search is made for the perpetrator. With the death of the real culprit the vengeance comes to an end, *istaddow ṭârhom*, and his whole kin may return home in peace.

He who unintentionally kills a man or a woman is not liable to vengeance but has to give compensation, often after prolonged negotiations.

If a person is killed by either a horse or a camel, its owner places the dead person's clothes on the animal, brings it to his nearest relative, and leaves it there with the words: "This is thy blood shedder; take him!"

685 For the intentional killing of a horse or camel four times the animal's value is to be paid; if the animal was killed accidentally, its actual market price only.

TYPICAL INSTANCES OF THE APPLICATION OF THE LAWS OF VENGEANCE

628 In the rainy season of 1905 the Ḳmuṣa were camping together with the ʿEbede between al-Ṛurâb and at-Tinf, their watering place there being the Ḥabra at-Tnejf. The stud camel owned by Mnezzel eben Nims of the Ḳmuṣa attached himself, *ʿajjar ʿala*, to the she-camels belonging to one Ḥarrâs of the ʿEbede, who let him cover one of his she-camels, *ẓarab beh lenâkteh*. When this came to the ears of Mnezzel's son Ḥsejjân he reproached Ḥarrâs angrily: "Thou hast used our stud camel without telling my father of it." Ḥarrâs retorted, and an altercation followed, *tehâwašow*, in the course of which Ḥarrâs struck Ḥsejjân with his cudgel, *maḏrûb*; whereupon the youth stabbed him with his dagger, killing him instantly. As soon as he realized what he had done he drove his herd to the tent of Eben Msejjeb of the Msike, ran inside, and begged:

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

"People, behold, here I am, guiltless. I ask Allâh's and your protection for the hair of our heads and for our herds. *Jâ rab' ana balâš w-dâḫel 'ala-llâh w-'alejkom 'ala ḥafâfna w-aṭrâfna.*" 628

Eben Msejjeb replied: "He that has asked for protection is saved, *daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem.*"

Then he assembled all his relatives both on his father's and mother's side and rode with sixty men to the tents of Mnezzel eben Nims' kin, loaded and carried them away, driving also his herds to the tents of his kinsfolk in order to be there before Ḥarrâs' kin could learn of the latter's death. The Arabs with whom Mnezzel and his relatives were camping ran about, *râǧow*, wondering why he had left them so suddenly, but received no positive information until all the relatives of the imperiled man were in safety with Eben Msejjeb, who immediately marched off with them to Eben Ḳardûš of the 'Ebede. Arriving there, he stopped his camels in front of the tent, stepped inside, saluted, and quietly sat down. When fresh coffee was made for him, he refused it. To Eben Ḳardûš's question why he would not drink coffee with him he replied:

"Because I desire, Eben Ḳardûš, something else of thee first!"

"Well, and what is it?"

"We demand the old custom of you, *eḥna nabi minkom as-swâni al-'atîža.*"

"Tell us! *sowlef.*"

Here Eben Msejjeb told what had happened, Eben Ḳardûš, who was related to Ḥarrâs, listening with the greatest attention. When Eben Msejjeb had finished, Eben Ḳardûš said:

"The matter about which thou hast come to me will receive our attention. Drink thy coffee. *Wušu ent ǧâjen leh ṣuraṣak tekża ḫoḏ al-ḳahwe.*"

"Grant us a truce of some time!"

"I will grant you a truce of ten days."

Eben Msejjeb drank his coffee, left the tent, and at once rode on with Mnezzel's relatives to Raṭwân eben Merîed and from him to Eben Štêwi. The latter then took the culprits to the Mwazzerîn kin of the Rwala, who had camped for the last few years with the Sirḥân, and handed them over to their chief with the words:

"These men are seeking a place of refuge, so I pass them from my countenance on to thine; *har-rab' ḥaḏowla ǧallâje min wağhi ana biwağhak.*"

628 The chief of the Mwasserîn replied obligingly: "Whatever comes to us, comes to its goal; *má waṣalna wâṣel.*"

Mnezzel's kin stayed with the Mwasserîn a whole year. After that time the Mwasserîn herdsmen sighted a strange Bedouin. They pursued, caught, and brought him before Mnezzel, who recognised him at once as the avenger of Ḥarrâs. The Rwala therefore fettered his feet with a chain as they fetter a mare. On the fourth day they said to Mnezzel:

"Mnezzel, we do not wish to kill the avenger, but, if he refuses to accept the blood price, we will take thee to the Beni Ṣaḫr; there thou wilt be safer than with us; *já mnezzel ḍabḥ má ehna ḍâbeḥineh čán inneh má hw žâbel al-medda newaṣṣelak 'a'a aḥl aš-šemâl 'ala miğlâk.*"

Their next step was to visit the avenger and ask him whether he would accept the blood price. The man said:

"I am willing, but there are besides me other brothers and relatives whom I must consult first. Allow me to return, and I will send you a report."

So they let him go and soon received news that the avengers were willing to accept the blood price and had named at the same time Eben Ḳardûš as their arbitrator. The Rwala therefore conducted Mnezzel with all his kin to Raṭwân eben Meršed, who sent the avengers the following message, *dafa' 'alejhom*:

"Mnezzel eben Nims is staying with me. If you want the blood price, come. I guarantee its payment."

Finally Eben Ḳardûš arrived. Raṭwân brought Mnezzel's mare and asked Eben Ḳardûš:

"Will ye accept Mnezzel eben Nims?"

The answer being in the affirmative, Raṭwân delivered to him one mare, four she-camels, and a rider's equipment. The rest of the she-camels were to be given to Ḥarrâs' kin in the next few years. And when the rainy season began Mnezzel once again migrated and camped with the 'Ebede — they were reconciled.

628 593 682 A Bedouin of the Eben Mhejd kin of the Fed'ân struck his wife with a pestle, *mihwa'*, from a big mortar, breaking her head so that she died shortly afterward. He was sued by her kin, but all the judges, *'axêref*, declared that he had struck her in anger with no intention of killing and, as he

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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had paid for her what her kin asked, he was not obliged to give them anything now.

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Me'ǧel eben 'Amša of the Drejb kin of the Ḳmuṣa on returning home found his young wife sobbing.

"What ails thee?" he asked.

"Thine only brother Sammîṭ has raped me!"

Taking his revolver, Me'ǧel sought out his brother and, with the words "Thus I punish a brother who has raped my wife," shot him dead.

The neighbors heard his words and saw Sammîṭ fall dead, but no one dared to act against Me'ǧel.

As soon as the head chief Ṛaṭwân eben Meršed heard of it, he rode to the slayer, entered his tent, and said:

"By Allâh, thou shalt die this moment; *w-allâh kowd ent temût 'enda has-sâ'a.*"

But Me'ǧel's and Sammîṭ's mother, who was a widow, embraced her only son, crying:

"O Ṛaṭwân, leave me at least this child, the only boy I have now! *ḫalli wlejdi ḫalli waḥîdi.*"

Ṛaṭwân turned on his heel and rode away without hurting Me'ǧel.

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A Ḳmâṣi, 'Awênân eben Sa'îd, watered his herd at al-Ǧubb, south-southwest of al-Mijâḍîn. The well was about two meters deep but wider at its coping stone than at the bottom, making the drawing of the water very difficult. His comrade therefore crept down, filled the leather bucket with water, and handed it to 'Awênân, who was standing above, to empty into the water trough. The thirsty camels pressing close, 'Awênân alone could not keep them away, and one slid down the well. 'Awênân caught the animal quickly by the head and jerked it to the ground, so that her front legs were outside, her belly on the coping stone, and her hind legs kicking wildly inside the well. One kick struck the man standing below, splitting his head. 'Awênân's shouts for help brought other herdsmen to the scene, who pulled out both the camel and the injured man; the animal was unhurt, but the man soon died. When his father then seized the whole of 'Awênân's herd, the latter tied the dead man's clothes to the camel by which he had been killed, swore that nobody but that animal had killed him, and offered compensation. The judges declared

628 that the guilty camel, but nothing else, belonged to the dead
672 man's father.
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In the camp of Meǧwel eben Meṣreb, who was married to a French woman, there lived with the Bedouin 'Âfet a youth named Meṭṭâl, a native of Irak, working for hire. Suddenly he disappeared. 'Âfet made a search for him but without success. At last he was found by a strange wayfarer with his head shot through, the corners of the mouth slit, and his ears stuck into his mouth. This showed it to be the deed of an avenger who was in the camp as a guest at the time and soon made himself known. Having proved that it was his duty to kill Meṭṭâl, he was allowed to go back to Irak in peace.

Ġrejd eben Mowzân tracked, *tehajjer*, a guilty man with his relatives for a whole year. He knew that by doing so he exposed himself to great dangers and might even lose his life, should the Arabs sheltering the culprits catch him; but this did not deter him from his purpose. Learning finally that the guilty men were living with the Sirḥân, he entered the service as *fedâwi*, free servant, of a member of this tribe in order to discover the tent occupied by the culprit proper. At last he succeeded. One morning creeping to the tent he saw the culprit milking a camel. Foaming with rage he leaped at him, *'adlâh 'alejh*, and with a dagger stabbed him to the heart. Having thus done his duty, he sought protection in a tent, *zeben 'ala bejten*, and found it, because the murdered culprit's relatives were able to testify that he was the avenger proper, *meṭṭâri*, who had avenged his relative, *teṭâreh*.

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Song of a Culprit Longing to Return to His Fellow Tribesmen

1. *Ḳum jâ nedimi w-e'teli fowḳ ma'fa'*
   taśda rafîf aṭ-ṭejr bel-'aġrumijje
2. *maftûlt aḍ-ḍer'ân billah mwazze'*
   elja-'tertah taḳṭa' ba'îd ad-dwijje
3. *telfi 'ala hâk er-rbâ' al-mebenna'*
   bimdâḫal al-wudjân barṣen 'aḍijje
4. *telfi 'ala ǧezzâ' w-aš-šejḫ melfâh*
   elja' ḫaṣar bel-kown ǧlîb as-serijje

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5. *jâ šejḫama jeṭreb al-ḳalb membâh*
wa-ṣhûnakom dubb al-lejâli melijje
6. *al-'aǧrafi min aṣ-ṣejm al-jowm jenḫa'*
min šân ḥamlen ṭeṭîlen 'alijje
7. *'ala-r-refâḳa ḳilt ana-l-jowm waǧdah*
'id as-salâm w-ḫabbereh lil-ḳaẓijje
8. *mašjen ma' al-aǧnâb lel-'adw temanna*
w-alli ma' al-aǧnâb mâ beh ḥamijje
9. *abu faḥad ḥabîb alli jet'annah*
jefoẓẓ al-mešâčel w-ad-da'âwi-l-ḳawijje
10. *aš-šejḫ eben turki w-lâ beh mrâwa'*
zejzûm ḥarb w-lâ jeḳaṭṭe' niwijje
11. *sallem 'ala ẓâri zebûn al-mu'anna*
ṛejr aṣ-ṣafer baṭ-ṭîb w-al-marḥabijje
12. *šejḫen 'adîm w-teṭ'an al-ḫejl jimna'h*
hom mâḳa'en laṭ-ṭîb w-ahl al-ḥamijje
13. *sallem 'ala mašʿân ajjâk tensa'*
haḏâk aḫw ǧaḥla zebûn ar-radijje
14. *jâ lâbeti lâ jâ zebûn al-mǧella'*
jeḫallûn ẓejžât al-meḏâheb faẓijje
15. *aṭrâfahom jedleh bihen kill men ǧâ'*
swâlfen dubb al-lejâli 'aḏijje
16. *anḫa'-r-refâḳa kill abûhom 'ala-fla'*
alli wara-l-ǧeddejn bed-dahmašijje.

1. Rise, comrade, and mount a rested she-camel
Resembling a heron in the 'Aǧrumijje swamps,
2. With forelegs muscular, symmetrically built,
Who, when thou needest her, will cross vast plains.
3. She will reach yon tent for men only, pitched
On the borders of al-Wudijân, that wholesome land;
4. Will reach also Chief Ǧezzâ', for whom this poem was written
And who, when in battle engaging, is like a wolf among the riders.
5. O chief of ours, at whose message the heart rejoices!
Your platters remain full all the night through.
6. From bondage al-'Aǧrafi today utters his battle cry
For bitter distress has come upon him.
7. Against my traveling companions today I cried: "O woe!"
Repeat [O messenger] the salute and tell what has happened.

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8. Thou mayst wish that thine enemy should walk with strangers,
For he that dwells with strangers lacks protection.
9. Fahad's father is dear to each suppliant;
He solves problems and disputes, be they ever so difficult.
10. The chief, Eben Turki, has no defect,
In war he is a shield never changing his views.
11. Greet for me Ẓâri, the protector of the violated,
Who is jealous of the victor in contest and hospitality,
12. He is a chief all-destroying, for his right hand pierces both rider and horse.
These are supporters and sure protectors in battle.
13. Greet Maš'ân! Woe to thee shouldst thou forget!
He is a brother of Ġaḥla, a shield even of a common mare.
14. O relatives of mine, let not the protectors of him who seeks refuge desert me,
And let the anger in their breasts dissolve.
15. For he who once reaches their lines can untroubled
Amuse himself by telling stories the whole healthful nights through.
16. I ask help of my traveling comrades, who have with me a common ancestor
Removed by two generations; I call on them with the war cry of the Dahâmše tribe.

Al-'Aġrafi, a member of the tribe of ad-Dahâmše, subject, *min ḳowm*, to Chief Hâjes eben Meġlâd, killed his relative during a quarrel while journeying with him and some comrades to as-Samâwa and then sought protection from the blood vengeance, *ǧala'*, with Prince an-Nûri. The avenger refused the blood price, and al-'Aġrafi was pining away. Having killed his own kinsman and being without brothers — the father had fallen in war —, he fled alone and, friendless as he was, felt utterly abandoned and powerless. After two years he composed this poem and sent it to the most respected men of his kin. The reciter was my traveling comrade Ṭâreš eben Melfi, another Dahmaši, although he was not intelligent enough to explain every detail in the poem.

Verse 1. *Nedîmi*, a poetical expression for *aḫi*, *rafiži*, or *ḫawi*, meaning comrade. *E'teli*, instead of the colloquial *erčab*, ascend or mount. *Ma'fa'* is a she-camel whom the owner re-

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serves for special journeys. 3. *Rbâ'* is a tent for men only. Nothing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared by the women in another tent, where they also live. Among the 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put up, one for men, the other for women. *Bimdâḫel* is pronounced *bimdâhel*. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḫ* with *h*. 4. Čezzâ' eben Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *šejḫ aš-šdâd*, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâh* is something which we learn through others. 6. *Naḫwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior *jentaḫi*, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his comrades to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man *jenḫa'*, when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, calling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered by an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or else lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his relatives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa on the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet associates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow tribesmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as would his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben Meğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'âreſa*. 10. Mḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri eben Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*, instead of *zeben*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭîb* means a struggle, a contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13. Maš'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin Ğahla, hence his war cry: *"Ana-ḫu ğaḫla eben bakr*, I am the brother of Ğaḫla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radijje* is a common mare, *kdîše*. 14. *Flân meḏhaḇeh* (pl., *meḏâheb*) *ẓajjeż*, or *ṣidreh ẓajjeż*, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended, who remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the anger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two generations from their common ancestor, their great-grandfather, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to afford one another mutual protection.

703 726 place. Only come nearer with her [the mare]! *Jâ walad al-ḥalâl mâ hw ḥâẓer lâ čân ḥâẓer mâ čân ittaḳa' 'ank ḥâẓer min jesedd 'anneh mâr žarrebha ǧâj.*"

But if the hero happens to be present, he says: "Oh, who is inquiring for So-and-So? This is he. Thou hast reached him. *Jâ nâšeden 'an flân hâḏa hw waṣelt ḥâẓer.*"

The comrades of both warriors then stop fighting, the better to observe the result of the duel, *mulâḳa'*. Both duellists first utter the battle cry of their tribe, adding: "Never say: 'He has surprised or tricked me.' *Lâ tḳul ṛaṭarni w-bâkni.* Brace up now and defend thyself! *ḥoḏ ḥaẓarak w-enfa' ḥâlak.* Oh, how do I frighten heroes! Thou sneeredst at me and thy lips are twitching!" A duel always ends with the death of one of the warriors. Of the victor the tale quickly spreads: "He fought, *tanâṭaḥ*, with So-and-So."

726 782 Whoever catches sight of the chief during the battle and longs to defeat him, cries out: "O Allâh, help me to defeat the chief and I will sacrifice a fat she-camel to thee! *jâ allâh baš-šejḥ w-ḥâṭer.*"

266 727 It is a fact that there are still many who drink the blood of the stricken enemy. 'Awde abu Tâjeh shouted: "O Allâh, give Da'sân to me that I may drink his blood!" Da'sân al-Hemš was a brave Šarâri warrior. Meeting him in a battle, 'Awde abu Tâjeh with a well-aimed bullet swept him from the saddle, jumped down on him, and, putting his mouth to the wound, drank his blood. Then he cut open his breast, tore out the still beating heart, and ate it.

726 782 A raider who wishes either for his brother or for himself to capture a fine mare on which the enemy is still sitting, calls out: "Oh, for the luck of So-and-So! [here he names his brother or himself], help me to throw this rider off his mare and I will sacrifice a she-camel! *jâ baḥat flân beha-l-ḳlâ'a w-ḥâṭer.*" Then he shoots at the enemy, cuts him with his sabre or stabs him with his spear, and throws him from the saddle, *ḳalla'eh 'anha.*

726 628 A warrior coming face to face with an enemy by whose hand his father, brother, or another relative has fallen, shouts at him: "O So-and-So, I wish to avenge my father! *jâ flân jâ beṭarârât abûj.*" If the other is not afraid he will answer: "Away with thee who rememberest a debt and askest for a settlement! *ṯasa jâ ḥâfẓ ad-dên w-ṭâlbeh.*" But if he is afraid he begs: "I ask thy protection! Shouldst thou refuse it and

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avenge thy father, the fire of hell will be thy punishment; *daḫîlak bên abûk w-an-nâr*," or: "Higher than thy hand is the hand of Allâh, who is sure to prevent blood flowing from this neck of mine." If the one who is challenged does not feel guilty, he corrects the other: "O thou, suspect me not! Seek him not with me at any hour of the day or of the night; for it was not I who cut his skin and made his son an orphan! *Jâ flân lâ-tâhem mâ leh ʿendi medâr w-lâ sâʿat al-lejl w-lâ sâʿat an-nahâr w-anni mâ šaḳḳejt leh ǧild w-lâ ajtamt leh wild.*" Then, when the avenger looks at him more closely, he may answer: "And I do, by Allâh, believe it; *w-ana ballâh žanaʿat.*"

He who sees certain death before him asks for pardon in these words: "Give pardon, O rider! *emnaʿ emnaʿ jâ ḫajjâl.*"

The man addressed will answer: "Come hither and thou wilt save thy neck. Come hither, Allâh lies on thee," or: "Dismount before the face of So-and-So" — naming himself. The suppliant, coming nearer, says: "'*Aṭni allâh*, give me Allâh," or "*Ḥoṭṭ ʿalejji allâh*, lay on me Allâh!" When this is done, the pardoned man says: "'*Aṭâni allâh w-ʿaṭajteh allâh ʿan al-bowḳ*, he assured me by Allâh and I assured him by Allâh against treachery."

He then surrenders his arms and most of his clothing and receives from his captor either a kerchief or head rope, accompanied by the words: "Here, take my kerchief (or my rope) and tell any one who approaches thee that thou hast been pardoned by So-and-So, *hâk ḳzâẓti* (*ʿaṣâbti*) *w-alli jeǧîk ḫabbereh ana manîʿ flân.*"

His mare or she-camel is taken by the victor, *mâneʿeh*, or the latter lets some comrade keep her for him a while and returns to the fight. The pardoned one waves the kerchief or the rope, crying: "I am the *manîʿ* of So-and-So." If both himself and his animal are wounded, his pardoner, *mâneʿ*, conducts him to his own party where assistance will be given him, or else the *mâneʿ* will allow him to return home at once. Should he live too far away, he is furnished with a she-camel, water bag, food, and a reliable guide, but must give his word of honor to return everything or to give compensation.

When a comrade of the victor is about to return home, *jenḳeṣ*, the victor says to him: "The man who stands before thee was pardoned by me. Conduct him to my relatives!"

He who asks no pardon while in danger is generally killed, *eljaʿ mâ mâneʿ endabaḥ*. There are many who hide, concealing